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but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

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853 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the [805] appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins [812] his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with 862 a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

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862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 1755 If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

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853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

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853 she runs up against the difficulty of accustoming the child to this kind of food, which may cause its death; furthermore, a wet nurse is often out of the question, for unless she is a relative who will do it without charge, it is almost impossible for a poor woman to meet the cost. For this reason the arrival of twins in a poor family is a hard blow, but in these circumstances every Guajiro woman whose services as wet nurse are solicited will consent, as she believes that a refusal would involve her in a double delivery in the future.

Thus, recourse to a wet nurse is limited to mothers with economic resources, who obtain the services of one with a child of an age approximately the same as their own and bring her into the home. The wet nurse receives a payment which has [465] been agreed upon beforehand, either in money, clothes, or animals, as well as her food, in which the mother takes special interest for the benefit of her own child, as also her clothes, which the mother also supplies. The wet-nurse's child is usually left with her relatives, who feed him by bottle on goat's milk, mazamorra, and other food which substitute for the mother's breast, and even if he stays with his mother, he is weaned in order to give a greater amount of breast milk to the other child. Sometimes he is given the breast, but the child of the house in which the mother serves is always given preference. His sustenance, in this case, is included in the payment agreed on.

Generally, the wet nurse engaged by a Guajiro wife is of lower social standing, and she gives her services in exchange for the personal advantages that accrue, since her situation in the house is good for the reasons mentioned, and her standing in the family collectivity is improved, because in a certain physical sense she is comparable with the mother, as on her depends the rearing and the health of the child. This establishes a link and a mutual relationship between them, and the wet nurse acquires a certain superiority as well as a physical bond with the child whom she nourishes. By this, if she is a slave, her position is eased and improved, and she gains in consideration and status. The same conditions apply if she is a bond servant.

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853 Wet nurses can be classed in four groups: 1. The relative who gives her services voluntarily and gratuitously, with the idea of mutual aid /within the family/. The mother feels, however, the moral obligation to repay her for the help given in her time of need, and this she does by taking food and /15/ presents to her relative's house. The child may be taken to the home of the wet nurse or stay in its own if the nurse lives in the same place as the mother. This is the only recourse for the poorer Guajiro woman when confronted with the problem of having given birth to twins or being unable to nurse her own child. 2. A voluntary wet nurse obtained from among friends and neighbors, whose recompense is similar to that in the previous case. This action serves to improve friendship, and the favor given remains a personal debt which should be repaid by the mother when the /volunteer/ wet nurse finds herself in a similar situation. The child is taken to the home of the wet nurse. 3. The paid wet nurse, of whom we have already spoken, whose fee obliges her to give efficient service, even to the point of weaning her own child. She must also act as nursemaid, which requires her to leave her own child in the home of her relatives. 4. The wet nurse who is not free, that is to say, one who is a bond servant or slave and who, being in the necessary condition, is ordered by her masters to give this service and is obliged to do so because of her condition of a nonfree person. In this case, as in the previous one, her own child is deprived of the breast if she cannot satisfactorily feed both children, her own and that of her masters. The child of the wet nurse is fed on special food supplied by her mistress.

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854 The Guajiro mother who is about to be confined prepares certain articles she is going to need. These preparations are quite limited, and it is not unusual for the delivery to begin without her having prepared something to serve as a "layette"

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751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
813 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[746] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing *lightly* on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

626 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of auto-suggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast. 843 [224]

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother often has to undergo another period of confinement, it being thought that all the rules had not been observed during her real period of puberty, and that that had an unfavourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are not observed, there is danger that the other children will also die. 766 844

My wife came back and told us that the child was born and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch, so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose herself to the sun. 844

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening when the mother goes to bed, at three in the morning when everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the better families the child is weaned with the help of maize gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it, the mother having so many other duties. There are even some who keep wet-nurses, he said. 846 [556] 853

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and 854